



Program Brief

“The View from Mars: Why Americans Think Differently from Europeans”

Lecture by
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Dr. Jeffrey Gedmin is director of the Aspen Institute Berlin. The Aspen Institute is an independent non-profit and non-partisan organization for international affairs and transatlantic relations. The director oversees all operations within the institute, directs programs, gives lectures, and writes articles regularly for a host of publications in Germany and abroad.

Previously, Dr. Gedmin was a resident scholar at the American Enterprise Institute in Washington DC, where he coordinated and directed the New Atlantic Initiative, a coalition of international institutes, politicians, leading journalists, and business executives dedicated to the revitalization and expansion of the Atlantic community of democracies.

Dr. Gedmin's articles on foreign and defense issues, including NATO, US-EU relations, missile defense, and Balkan security have appeared in *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *The Wall Street Journal*, the *Weekly Standard*, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*, *Süddeutsche Zeitung*, *Die Zeit*, *Die Welt*, and elsewhere. He is the author of *The Hidden Hand: Gorbachev and the Collapse of East Germany* (1992) and the editor of *European Integration and the American Interest* (AEI Press, 1997). He was executive editor and producer of the award winning PBS television program, *The Germans, Portrait of a New Nation*. Dr. Gedmin holds a Ph.D. from Georgetown University.

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Jeff Gedmin's Corner

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Jeffrey Gedmin's latest articles about the war in Iraq, German-American relations and the road ahead

U.S. GOVERNMENT RESOURCES

Topical page from the website of the U.S. Embassy Vienna, Austria

- [U.S. - EU](http://www.usembassy.at/en/policy/us_eu.htm)
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- [Bureau of European and Eurasian Affairs](http://www.state.gov/p/eur/)
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- [European Union](http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rt/eu/)
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<http://www.useu.be>

- [Transatlantic Relations – The U.S.-EU Partnership](http://www.useu.be/TransAtlantic/Index.html)
(<http://www.useu.be/TransAtlantic/Index.html>)

Statements and Speeches by U.S. Government Officials

Measuring the Transatlantic Divide: Inextricably Bound, or Drifting Apart?

Rockwell A.. Schnabel, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union

ISC Foundation, St. Gallen, Switzerland

May 14, 2004

It is often said that the U.S. and Europe share the same values. Our common history and common systems of democratic governance and market economies have built a bond that runs deeper than cooperation between the governments of the day.

As far as it goes, this is true. Europe and the United States share more in common than perhaps any two other regions of the world. Our core values include democracy, a commitment to the importance of the individual, of respect for basic human rights, the rule of law, tolerance, and an appreciation of diversity. Both sides of the Atlantic share a strong belief in the role of free trade and competitive markets to improve the daily lives of our citizens.

Complete text:

<http://www.useu.be/About%20the%20Embassy/Ambassador/Speeches%20Schnabel/May1404SchnabelStGallenSpeech.html>

Revitalizing Transatlantic Relations: Bridging the Divide

Mitchell B. Reiss, Director of Policy Planning

Remarks to the German Council for Foreign Relations, Berlin, Germany

May 11, 2004

A recurring theme in transatlantic discussions is that the United States and Europe increasingly do not share the same world view. We do not see international institutions the same way. And we do not view the use of force the same way.

Robert Kagan has identified this divide in his book, "Of Paradise and Power." Simply put, America is from Mars, Europe is from Venus. Kagan describes a broad ideological gap between the U.S. and Europe because of Europe's unique historical experience of the past fifty years, culminating in the past decade with the creation of the European Union.

The European desire to exercise power through transnational negotiation and cooperation stands in contrast to the Bush Administration's view that international law is often unreliable; and that the defense and promotion of a liberal order still depends on the possession and use of military force.

Kagan's analysis is helpful in illuminating the different prisms through which Europeans and Americans view world politics. That said, I do not share all of Kagan's analysis, and I share none of his determinism, which largely writes off the prospect of future transatlantic strategic cooperation. In fact, even Kagan has recently reevaluated the importance of a strong European partner to the success of American foreign policy.

So I wouldn't exaggerate the significance of these philosophical differences. They're not as extensive as some claim, and they're not as directly relevant in policy terms as some imply.

Complete text: <http://www.state.gov/s/p/rem/32448.htm>

Remarks at Reception in Honor of 50 Years of Formal U.S.-EU Relations and May 1 EU Accession

Secretary Colin L. Powell

Benjamin Franklin Room, Washington, D.C.

May 6, 2004

We're here to celebrate, really, two related accomplishments: the 50th anniversary of the establishment of an official European Commission presence here in Washington, D.C. and the historic enlargement of the European Union just six days ago.

I say related accomplishments because American support for the project of European integration, from its very beginnings, has been critical to the European Union's capacity to form, to take shape, to succeed, and now to expand. Every American President, from Harry Truman to George Bush 43, has supported Europe's great project, this grand project, and we've done it correctly and rightly, for the very best of reasons. The United States should not claim too much credit for the European Union's accomplishments because EU expansion is, above all, a European achievement. And I know that it took an enormous amount of work by all hands to bring it about. So congratulations to all of our friends across the pond for what you have accomplished.

But no serious observer would discount the broad shaping role that the United States has played in Europe over these last five decades, not only in security but especially, I might add, and say, in the area of economics. No serious observer could imagine the EU's May 1st expansion, except for the triumph of liberty in the Cold War, which created the conditions for such expansion. And no serious observer could begin to account for that triumph without reference for the role played by the United States.

As I mentioned, we, too, have been and will remain a European power, and we, too, have worked for the European Union's achievements. That's why the EU's success is America's success, and that's why we Americans stand second to none in claiming our right to celebrate with you this afternoon.

Complete text: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/32285.htm>

U.S. - European Union Relations

Rockwell A. Schnabel, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union

Foreign Press Center Roundtable, Washington, D.C.

May 5, 2004

If you look at -- Europe and the United States, together, today have something close to 60 percent of the world's economic activity. And when you're thinking about the issue of global poverty, which, of course, is the single most important issue that we're all concerned about; but tied to that is the issue of terrorism today, it is imperative on the United States and Europe to work together because we are the ones that can address those issues best -- or certainly along with other countries, naturally. But it's because of the size of the United States and Europe that we can do things together that are very important. So it is the partnership between the two that we have always been in favor of. And even though we have gone through a difficult time in the last couple of years, particularly

leading up to the Iraqi war because there were substantial differences in approach, we continue to believe that the relationship, as does this Administration and everybody in it, it's the single most important relationship we have. And now that the ten new countries have joined, that, of course, applies to all 25 countries.

Complete text: <http://fpc.state.gov/fpc/32233.htm>

European Union Enlargement in Central Europe: Challenges and Opportunities

E. Anthony Wayne, Assistant Secretary for Economic and Business Affairs
Graz, Austria
April 2, 2004

Indeed, the enlargement of the European Union is effectively the reintegration of peoples, cultures and economies that were artificially divided for half a century. From the days of Vaclav Havel's Charter 77, and Solidarity's courageous Gdansk shipyard strike of 1980, the United States has stood shoulder to shoulder with Central Europeans struggling to liberate themselves from communism and to take their rightful place in Europe. President Reagan's challenge to Chairman Gorbachev to "tear down this wall" is well known to all of you. The process of dismantling that wall began on November 9, 1989. But the last brick in the wall, figuratively speaking, will be removed only when all the nations of Europe are no longer divided by artificial barriers. The enlargement of the EU into Central Europe is a significant step towards that goal.

The United States has been a strong supporter of European unity since the years following World War II. The U.S. has applauded and tangibly supported the national aspirations of European states to take their rightful place as full members of the Euro-Atlantic community of democracies. As President George W. Bush said, "All of Europe's democracies from the Baltic to the Black Sea -- and all that lie between -- should have the same chance for security and freedom and the same chance to join the institutions of Europe." The embrace of ten new members attests to the European Union's institutional strength and to its confidence in itself. It also testifies to the essential role the Union plays as a force for democracy, prosperity, and for stability throughout Europe and well beyond. In that connection, I also want to stress how very pleased we are that seven new members, including Slovenia and Slovakia, were welcomed into NATO this week. The North Atlantic Alliance is vital to ensuring that Europe remains whole and free, providing an important foundation for increasing its prosperity.

Complete text: <http://www.usembassy.at/en/policy/wayne.htm>

Flexible and Unbreakable

Secretary Colin L. Powell
Op-Ed, *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung*
March 31, 2004

The chilling times of the Cold War are gone. Even the days of celebration at their end have receded in our memories. It has been years since we shared a common Soviet

adversary, and many of our leaders today lack personal experience of U.S.-German joint labors during those times. Nearly all of NATO's challenges now originate outside of Europe.

As time has passed, our concerns have been redirected and our sense of mutual dependency has been relaxed. For Americans, more recent events – particularly the tragedy of September 11, 2001 – have reshaped our view of the world. For Germany and its neighbors, the project of building the new Europe now molds attitudes and expectations. These shifts in focus diminished our Cold War-era camaraderie, and our disagreement over how best to deal with Saddam Hussein's Iraq led some to predict the end of NATO, and even the collapse of the Transatlantic partnership.

I was not among such people. Neither was President Bush. We know that far more unites us than separates us. We share the core ideals of democratic and free peoples. We share a common European heritage reaching back to classical antiquity.

We also share key interests with our European partners in confronting the major security, economic and political challenges of our times. Those challenges stretch from the need to address acute regional conflicts and to fight against pandemic diseases like HIV/AIDs, to the obligation to prevent weapons proliferation and terrorism – such as we witnessed earlier this month in Madrid.

We will meet those challenges. Both NATO and the European Union are expanding this year, and that is twice good. Both expansions will consolidate peace, expand prosperity, and advance our common agenda. Those expansions also prove that despite the many changes of recent years, allied bonds remain flexible as well as unbreakable.

Complete text: <http://www.state.gov/secretary/rm/30860.htm>

The Future of Transatlantic Relations

Rockwell A. Schnabel, U.S. Ambassador to the European Union

College Of Europe in Bruges, Belgium

March 11, 2004

The strength of the U.S.-EU relationship affects not only our respective populations. Actions we take on our economies, our foreign policies, and to combat global scourges like terrorism and disease, have ripple effects throughout the world. ...

Nowhere is this more evident than in the Transatlantic economic relationship. Just as people are moving among countries and continents with greater frequency, companies are doing so as well. Our businesses and economies are increasingly interconnected, and it is often difficult to distinguish between a U.S. and an EU company. ...

What is true for our economies is even more salient in the area of foreign policy. Transatlantic political cooperation is not just desirable but essential to address the global challenges we face today. The United States fully supports European efforts to speak with a unified voice on security and foreign policy issues. But as the European Union looks to play a greater role in the world, it is important that it view the United States as a partner - not a rival.

Complete text:

<http://www.useu.be/About%20the%20Embassy/Ambassador/Speeches%20Schnabel/Mar1104SchnabelBrugesSpeech.html>

The Administration's Priorities in Europe

A. Elizabeth Jones, Assistant Secretary for European and Eurasian Affairs
Testimony Before the House International Relations Committee Subcommittee on
Europe, Washington, D.C.
March 3, 2004

We have made real progress with our European allies since I appeared before you last March. The differences of last year have given way to a firm conviction on both sides of the Atlantic that we must and can succeed together in Iraq, as we do when we close ranks to address other challenges to our shared values. We share with our European partners a conviction that global threats are most effectively met when we act in concert.

The greatest challenge our societies face today is the nexus of terrorist and WMD threats, facilitated by failed states, dictatorship, and violent extremism. That is why we are working with our European partners – in the G-8, through U.S.-EU relations, and through NATO – to support the long-term transformation of the Greater Middle East through freedom-based reform.

Our relations with Europe are extensive, multilayered and multifaceted. We consult regularly on virtually every issue. We work with our European friends not only bilaterally but multilaterally as well. The President will have summits with NATO, EU, and G-8 partners this June, which will present valuable opportunities to move forward on a wide range of pressing issues. We also work with the Europeans in the UN, the OECD, the OSCE, and in countless other institutions and organizations. ...

U.S.-European relations have advanced, and will continue to advance, U.S. foreign policy interests not just in Europe, but beyond. Increasingly, our work with Europe focuses on meeting global challenges. As we look ahead, we see even more U.S.-European collaboration in managing transitions both inside and outside the region. The United States sets ambitious goals and takes a leadership position on many issues, but we are most effective when we work together with friends and Allies.

While differences remain over the Kyoto Protocol and the International Criminal Court, positive trends are also clear.

We injected new energy into our security cooperation with the EU by signing a joint statement on non-proliferation, resulting in closer coordination on multilateral export control regimes and safeguarding of nuclear materials in the former Soviet Union. Several members of the European Union have joined the Proliferation Security Initiative to interdict the illicit transfer of nuclear equipment.

The EU and member states coordinated closely with us in the IAEA to put pressure on Iran to bring its nuclear program into compliance with IAEA rules. Together with the IAEA, we are working closely to verify Iran's commitment to suspension of enrichment-related activity and transparency. We will continue to stress to our EU partners and to Russia that any nuclear cooperation with Iran remain on hold until Iran's commitment has been carried out and verified.

Complete text: <http://www.state.gov/p/eur/rls/rm/30090.htm>

MEDIA ITEMS

(For full text of these articles please contact the American Reference Center at: arc@usembassy.at.)

America's Crisis of Legitimacy

By Robert Kagan

(*Foreign Affairs*, March/April 2004)

For the first time since World War II, a majority of Europeans has come to doubt the legitimacy of U.S. power and of U.S. global leadership. With the end of the Cold War, Europeans now regard the United States as an unconstrained power. Kagan writes that Europeans do not fear that the U.S. will seek to control them; they fear that they have lost control over the U.S. and, by extension, over the direction of world affairs. Most Europeans would argue that if the U.S. seeks to gain international legitimacy for any use of force, it must avoid acting alone and it must embrace a foreign policy of multilateralism, defined by the Europeans as gaining approval from duly constituted international bodies before undertaking any action.

The Imbalance of Power: On the Prospects for Effective American-European Relations

By Stephen M. Walt

(*Harvard Magazine*, March/April 2004)

The author argues that 2003 marked the lowest point in transatlantic relations since World War II. "Although NATO has faced serious strains in every decade — over the Suez Crisis in 1956, Vietnam in the 1960s, the energy crises in the 1970s, and the Euromissiles controversy in the 1980s — the level of acrimony in the past year was unprecedented. Relations between key European allies and the United States had already been on delicate ground for several years— fueled largely by European concerns about American "unilateralism" — but the crucial event was the U.S.-led invasion of Iraq in March 2003. As the diplomatic campaign for war proceeded, key European states openly opposed the use of force and even actively colluded to prevent the United States from obtaining a UN Security Council resolution authorizing war — an unprecedented breach in the alliance. American leaders responded by playing a "divide-and-conquer" strategy that challenged the core idea of European unity, and threatened to "punish" allies who had opposed the war." Can the United States and Europe still be effective allies — and if so, how? Stephen M. Walt is academic dean and Belfer professor of international affairs at the Kennedy School of Government.

Multilateralism: Behind European Views

By Joachim Krause

(The Washington Quarterly, Spring 2004)

The war in Iraq has not only driven a wedge between the Bush administration and the governments of France and Germany but also has embroiled Western nations in a strategic debate about international order. Recent commentary on the topic throughout the United States and Europe collectively appear to suggest that the world is faced with a critical choice between international order—or the prevalence of multilateralism and international law—and unfettered U.S. hegemony. A closer look reveals, however, that there are disagreements among Europeans themselves and that the grand debate is less of strategic choice but more a matter of disagreement about the very meaning and purpose of multilateralism—its efficiency and utility in pursuit of broadly liberal goals. Joachim Krause is a professor of international relations at the University of Kiel in Germany and a member of the Council of the International Institute for Strategic Studies in London.

Power, War and Public Opinion

By Ronald Asmus, Phillip P. Everts and Pierangelo Isernia

(Policy Review, February/March 2004)

In recent years, the transatlantic relationship has witnessed some of the greatest debates and differences recorded in U.S.-European relations, most recently concerning the war in Iraq. Not surprisingly, this turbulence has also generated a growing debate over the nature and causes of such differences. A number of different views have been advanced. (...) It is perhaps inevitable that proponents of each of these views will look for — and sometimes find — public opinion research results that tend to confirm their own differing hypotheses. At the same time, the core issue of where and why American and European publics differ on questions of war and peace has not yet been adequately addressed. Here, drawing on the 2002 and 2003 Transatlantic Trends survey conducted by the German Marshall Fund of the United States, the authors attempt to dig a bit deeper into the nature and structure of the transatlantic divide. Ronald Asmus is senior transatlantic fellow at the German Marshall Fund of the United States. Philip P. Everts works in the department of political science at Leiden University, the Netherlands. Pierangelo Isernia is professor of international relations at the University of Siena.

Broadening the Transatlantic Relationship

By Doug Bereuter and John Lis

(Washington Quarterly, Winter 2003/2004)

The chairman of the House International Relations Subcommittee on Europe and his senior policy adviser argue that the United States needs a strong European partner to help promote common interests in Europe and the world beyond.

The French-American War Over Iraq

By Irwin Wall

(The Brown Journal of World Affairs, Winter/Spring 2004)

Though the differences in foreign policy between the United States and France have been long-standing, they have become more pronounced with the current war in Iraq. Furthermore, the divergence of both countries' goals in terms of foreign policy has become more significant in the postwar period. Utilizing the Iraq war as the premise for its diverging opinion, France has pushed for an agenda of European independence from the United States, promoting the ideal of "multi-polarity" in international relations. Still, France's European partners, namely Great Britain and Germany, disagree with this approach. The author suggests that the U.S. should be more willing to accommodate the French in order to alleviate the tension between the two countries.

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